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622 became *sameupé gwari* or *sakhli*. Of this type was the *meupé-mamasakhlisi* of Mtzkheta whose power according to *Kartlis Tzkhovreba* had become established in eastern Georgia as early as the fourth century B.C.

The abolition of the office of the ordinary *mamasakhlisi* is ascribed by *Kartlis Tzkhovreba* to the hypothetical first King Farnavazi at the end of the fourth century B.C. But the only historically authentic Farnavazi of whom we know reigned in the first century B.C. and his rule was not distinguished by such a reform. It is, however, quite possible that some ambitious *meupé mamasakhlisi* may have thought it desirable to reform the administration of the country by centralizing it in his own hands; he would naturally abolish the positions of *mamasakhlisi* over *tomi* and *temi*, and dividing the country into administrative units appoint over them governors directly responsible to himself.

In whatever manner this may have happened there can be no doubt that kingship arose in Georgia out of the *sagwareulo-mamasakhliso* system, the essential characteristics of which continued to survive down to the Christian era, as is testified by Strabo.

● [565] 611 Writing of the division of the inhabitants into four classes, the Greek geographer states that "the first and chief is that from which the kings are appointed".[1] The "first and chief class" is nothing more or less than the *gwari* of the *meupé-mamasakhlisi* of the earlier centuries, the *sameupé gwari* or *sakhli*, the royal clan. Further, Strabo states, "the King is the oldest and the nearest of his predecessor's relations"

[1] Strabo, XI, iii, 36.

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Here too we can perceive an essential element of the old system, according to which the eldest member of the *gvari* administered the *sagvareulo*, succession passing from the eldest to the eldest of *gvari*, i.e. to the brother or uncle, and not from father to son.

In Strabo's time then the highest power belonged to one *sagvareulo*, the eldest member of which, or, using the old term, the *mamasakhlisi* of which, was King of the whole of Iberia.

In the actual administration of justice and of military affairs the King was assisted by the second eldest member of his *gvari*, who after the King held the first place in the country. In time of peace he administered justice, while in time of war he led the King's army.

Next to the *samepo* or royal *gvari* the place of honour was held by the *samghudelo gvari* or "priestly clan," which besides administering religious affairs provided also the executive elements in the primitive state.

No person except a member of the royal *gvari* had the right to possess bondsmen. The numbers of the royal *gvari* as well as of the priestly *gvari* were small. The number of *gvarni* in bondage was also limited. The *gvarni* in bondage were the property of the royal *gvari* in whose *sagvareulo* they lived and to whom they paid their dues in service and in kind.

The rest of the population was entirely free and consisted of free *gvarni* which in time of peace followed an agricultural life and in time of war armed themselves and fought the enemy. This free population was divided into *gvarni* or *sakhlni*, who lived each on their respective *sagvareulo*. Private

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ownership of land was unknown. Immovable properties belonged to the *gvari* as a whole and the oldest member of it, the *mamasakhlisi*, was its sole regulator and manager. *Gvari* or *sakhli* then represented a basic social group welded by common descent, common ownership and communal production; in other words ancient Georgia did not know a social economic unit smaller than the *gvari*. This however, does not mean that there were no family households. The household or family as a biological and moral union did of course exist, but juridically and economically it formed an inseparable part of the *gvari*. Families could and did naturally live in separate homes, but socially they were very closely bound to their respective *gvarni* outside of which they had no legal existence. The *gvari* and *sagvareulo* system was the keystone of all social life. Hamlets, villages and towns were organized in accordance with this system, for in the majority of cases the whole village was held in a single *sagvareulo*. This system lasted until the seventh century A.D., and in some cases survived until the thirteenth century; while among the mountaineers of the Aragvi and the Ksani valleys, it persisted till as recently as the eighteenth century.

With the invasion of the Romans in 65 B.C. and the subsequent imposition of a "treaty of friendship" on Iberia, this native system of state and social organization became increasingly subject to external influences. The Romans interfered frequently, for instance, with the succession rights with a view to placing their own creatures on the Iberian throne; but the older practices proved strong enough to persist until the end of the second century A.D. when succession by primogeniture became the rule.

Other modifications began to take place. Differences in social status gradually developed within the *gvarni* and by the middle of the second century A.D. social inequalities had become already, at least partially, established.

The first foreign writer to allude to the existence of social inequality in Georgia was Dio Cassius who lived in the second half of the second century A.D. In giving an account of the arrival in Rome of Farsman II (A.D. 116–40) King of Iberia, and of the reception accorded him by the Emperor Hadrian, Dio Cassius states that

> "the Emperor watched Farsman and the sons of other *illustrious* Iberians perform tournaments". [1]

[1] Dio Cassius, *Hist. Romana*, III, 69.

[Ancient Georgia]

FROM THE CLAN TO THE CLASS

In the Greek text Cassius uses the word *protos*; now *protos*, which means literally "the first", "the illustrious", is rendered by the Georgian translators of the Greek by the word *aznauri*.[1] It was *aznaurni* then who composed the suite of Farsman II. The word *aznauri*, of which *aznaurni* is the plural form, comes from the Perso-Armenian root *azn* formed with the suffix *ur* = *ver*, that is *azna-uri* = *azna-veri*, wherein *azn*, according to Prof. Marr, denotes birth, origin, descent, and *ur* = *ver* = son.[2] *Aznauri* thus means "son of birth"—in other words, "son of illustrious birth or origin". The Georgian equivalent of *aznauri* is *gwarishvili* = son of *gwari*; also *gwarovani* or *gwariani*, of illustrious *gwari* or clan. The *Protoi Iberôn* of Cassius and the *aznaurni* or *gwarianni*, *gwarishvilni*, of the Georgians all have then one and the same meaning, the only difference between the two Georgian words *aznauri* and *gwariani* being in this, that the first is formed from a foreign and the second from a purely Georgian root.

If *aznauri* denoted the person or the rank of persons, of high, illustrious birth, there can be no doubt that there must have been some denomination of the persons or rank of persons of lower, less illustrious birth. We can find no indication of this in Dio Cassius' work, since he makes reference only to the *aznaurni* in Farsman's suite. There are no Georgian sources for the same period. But in later Georgian monuments, the earliest of which belongs to the fifth century, namely, *The Martyrdom of St. Shushaniki the Queen*, we are provided with valuable retrospective light; in it we find that the population of Georgia was divided in the fifth century into *aznaurni* and *uaznoni*.[3]

Uazno, of which *uaznoni* is the plural form, is the negative form of *aznauri* and consequently means of non-illustrious or of low birth, literally birthless, without birth. The *uaznoni* or *ugwaroni*, that is the people who were without *gwari*, who did not belong to a *gwari*, were of no consequence at all, since they possessed no *gwari* to uphold them. An *aznauri* or *gwariani*, a *gwarishvili*, on the contrary, because he belonged to a *gwari* could feel himself assured of his personal independence. The social state is, as Professor Javakhishvili has correctly observed, "perfectly reflected" in the term itself used to designate the "members of privileged *gwarni*"—in the word

[1] Translation of St. Mark's Gospel, VI, 21. That *protoi* must designate *aznaurni* was first suggested by the Georgian Professor Javakhishvili; see his *Garuelarstvennie stroi drevniei Gruzii i drevniei Armenii* (Spb. 1903).

[2] N. Marr, *Tek. Raz. A-G*, Book IV.

[3] Cf. J. M. Sabinini, *Sabartvelos Samotkhi* (*The Paradise of Georgia*), Spb. 1882, p. 191.

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554 *aznauri* which etymologically has the meaning of "son of
565 *gvari*", *gvarishvili*, but was also used in the sense of "the free".

Aznauri, then, meant also free or *tavisupali* in Georgian, and in this sense it was used in ancient Georgian literature, particularly in the translations of the Scriptures. Etymologically *tavisupali* means "lord" or "master of self"; consequently *tavisupali* was he who was his own master; who had no overlord; and was independent.

In like manner *nazno* was he who was not his own master; and was not independent.

565 From the earliest Georgian literary document mentioned above we learn that in the fifth century there existed in Georgia *aznaurni-did-didni*, that is the "great *aznaurni*".[1] Though it is not mentioned in our source, there can be no doubt that in contradistinction to the "great *aznaurni*" there existed also the "small *aznaurni*" or *aznaurni mtsireni*, otherwise the qualification of *aznaurni* as *did-didni*, the great, would have no sense whatever. *Aznaurni* then were already differentiated in

the fifth century. A better definition and a more complicated gradation of the *aznaurni* may have existed in the fifth century itself, but we possess no definite information on this point. From the same above-mentioned document we learn also that in the fifth century differentiation was not only shown in the *aznaurni* but also in the *aznauni*. Thus while in the first century A.D. social inequality was almost unknown in Georgia, no one except the royal *gvari* having the right to possess bondsmen, in the fifth century A.D. inequality had become the very essence of social life, and the population was divided

[1] Sabinini, *Sakartvelos Samotkhi*.

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FROM THE CLAN TO THE CLASS

into distinct social groups or ranks. The population had 565 become at this period divided into two main groups:

aznaurni who were *tavisupalni* and
uaznoni who were *utavisuploni.*

The *aznaurni* as a group or class were divided into two ranks:

aznaurni-did-didni, " the great *aznaurni* ", and
aznaurni mtsireni, " the small or common *aznaurni* ".

The *uaznoni* in their turn were divided in the following groups: *Msakhurni*, *Qrmani* and *Mona-mkhevalni.*

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CHAPTER XX

THE MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASSES IN MEDIÆVAL GEORGIA

565 554 *Msakhurni* constituted a distinct social group, although the different categories within the group did not enjoy equal rights and an equal social position; they also, like the *aznaurni*, were differentiated. According to *The Life of St. Abo*,[1] an eighth-century document, a *msakhuri* was a person attached to another, his master, for whom he performed certain duties. It follows then that *msakhurni*, of which *msakhuri* is the singular form, and the etymological meaning of which is "the servant", were attached to the kings and to the *mtavarni* and *aznaurni*. St. Abo, for instance, was in the service of Nersé, the *eristavt-eristavi*, in the capacity of "a skilled blender of face-creams, powders and scents". Another particular and special duty of a *msakhuri* is preserved in *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli*—namely, that of a courier or messenger.[2] The *msakhurni* of the kings and of the *mtavarni* constituted a group of higher social standing than the *msakhurni* of the *aznaurni*. In like manner the *msakhurni* of the great *aznaurni* enjoyed a higher social status than those of the small or common *aznaurni*. Unfortunately the Georgian historical sources do not contain detailed information about the grades of *msakhurni*. Two grades, however, are mentioned casually, namely, *mtavris dsinashe mdgomelni*[3] and *tadzrisulni*.[4] Although it is difficult to glean the nature of the offices held by these *msakhurni*, it is clear, judging from the meaning of the qualifying terms, that their duties put them in close contact with the *mtavarni* and the palace, for the first term strictly signifies "the before mtavari standing", and the second "of the palace".

[1] It was written by Ioanné Sabinisdze. See German translation by K. Schultze, *Das Martyrium des heiligen Abo von Tiflis*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, XIII, 4, 315, 27–8. Abo was martyred in 783. See also *Sakartvelos Samotkhé*, p. 338.

[2] *Tzkhovrebai da Mokhmobebai. . . . Serapionisi* (*Life and Activities of Serapion*), published by M. Janashvili in his *Georgian Literature*, Book II.

[3] See *Tzkhovrebai Grigol Khandztelisai* (*Life of St. Grigol of Khandzti*), by Merchuli, published by N. Marr in *Tek. Raz. A-G.*, Book VII, page 16, Cap. XI.

[4] See *Tzkhovrebai Mepisa Wakhtang Gorgasalisai* (*Life of the King Wakhtang Gorgasali*), by Juanscheri, published by E. Takaishvili, p. 209.

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THE MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASSES

With the growth of a strong central power and the development of the mediæval administrative machine people began to be distinguished not only by their birth, but also by the service they rendered to the state. *Gvarishvilni* so distinguished became known as *msakhurevlni*, which is not to be confused with *msakhurni* mentioned above. A *msakhurevli* (singular) was he who possessed a record of long service to the state. *Msakhurevlni gvarishvilni* were thus doubly illustrious by birth and by service.

For a *gvarishvili*, backed by the worth and influence of his *gvari*, it was comparatively easy to enter the administrative service. It was not, however, so easy for the *uzvaroni* or *uazvoni*, who entered upon their career without the advantage of the influence of their *gvari* and all which that implied. The advancement and promotion of an *uzvaro* naturally would not be free of prejudice and unopposed by the *aznaurni*. In such a position undoubtedly were the *msakhurni* of the higher grades. In course of time, however, their personal worth and merit began to be recognized and rewarded. In the work of Juansheri quoted above, it is stated that King Archili "presented Kakheti to his *tadzreulni* and made *aznaurni* of them".[1]

The promotion and elevation of the *msakhurni* became a frequent occurrence in the tenth and the following centuries, and strong kings such as Bagrat III, David Aghmashenebeli and Giorgi III pursued a policy of favouring poor and capable *msakhurni* at the expense of the proud and turbulent *aznaurni*. The preferment of *msakhurni* to *aznaurni* became increasingly common, and in the time of David Aghmashenebeli there was a whole class of *aznaurni* called *aghzevebulni* ("the raised"). Of this type of *aznaurni* may have been the *mosakargaveni* whose duty was the collection of taxes[2] and the *aznaurni sazuzrelni*[3] who were in charge of the Customs Houses.

The elevation of *uazvoni* to *aznauroba* led to a new distinction among the *aznaurni*; henceforward the *aznaurni* who were such by the right of birth, *aznauroba* having been handed down to them by their ancestors, began to be known as *aznaurni memamuleni* or *natesavit aznaurni* in contrast to the *aghzevebulni aznaurni*, i.e. "the raised", those who had acquired their *aznauroba* by bestowment.

[1] Juansheri, pp. 209–10.
[2] *Shio Mghvimis Sami Sigeli* (*Three Sigels of Shio Mghvime*), published by S. Kakabadze, p. 5.
[3] *Matiane Kartlisai*, published by E. Taqishvili, p. 230.

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THE PEOPLE AND THE POWER

565 Notwithstanding the fact that *aznauri* originally meant "the free", social changes had not spared even the *aznaurni*, and in Merchuli's work we read of *aznaurni mepisai*, that is "king's *aznaurni*"[1]; later monuments show that there were not only the King's *aznaurni* but those of the *eristavt-eristavni* and of other high state officials.

The free *gwariani aznaurni* constituted the influential social class of Georgia. Their material wealth was enormous and some of them possessed even considerable military power; in this respect the *aznaurni*, according to the historian Sumbat Davitisdze, were divided into two groups, namely—to use Sumbat's own words—"some with castle-fortresses and some without".[2] The lords of the castle-fortresses or "the great", as they were called, were those who possessed their own fortresses and were supreme in their respective domains. Each such great *aznauri* also possessed his own *sagwareulo* cemetery, monastery, church and castle-chapel.

565 555 Social differentiation in Georgia had by the eleventh and twelfth centuries become very marked, but social ranks were not divided by insurmountable barriers. A man could be ennobled, he could lose rank through adverse circumstances, or he could be degraded. Descent and social status remained all-important, but individual qualities such as courage, talent and loyal service could raise a man above the class into which he had been born. A person who had distinguished himself by his individual qualities was held in great respect and was, in the words of Merchuli, "an eminent man" (*satchinoi-katsi*). Loyal service was duly rewarded irrespective of birth; persons of long distinguished service received the rank of *msakhureulni*. The fame accruing from this rank reflected not only on him, but also on his whole family. Thus there arose the *msakhureuli sakhli*, analogous to *gwariani sakhli* (the noble house). The *gwariani sakhlni* were very often *msakhureulni-sakhlni* as well. If the dependent *aznaurni* of the great distinguished themselves by service they enhanced their reputation and prestige, and in the eyes of their lords and of their neighbours they became "highly estimable and respected" *aznaurshvilni*. Even the slave-peasants had full scope for improving their lot, and those who showed ability and gifts were not merely common slaves, but *vargi da satsnauri*, that is "good and noteworthy". It is significant in this connection that *varg* in the Svan dialect denotes *aznauri*.

[1] *Tzkhov. Cr. Khumbatishvili*, p. 13, Cap. IX.
[2] *Tzkhovreba da Udzgebai Bagratovanista tskhovs Kartulta Mepetasa*, p. 339.

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THE MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASSES

Vadcharni—the merchants—constituted a separate social class, as is evident from the *sigelni* (charters) of the Catholicos Melkisedeki,[1] dating from the year 1020, wherein they are mentioned for the first time. The earlier literary sources preserve very little information about them, from which it is to be deduced that in the remoter times the merchants commanded little or no influence in the political life of the country. From the eleventh century they are, however, comparatively frequently mentioned.

The merchants were divided into two main groups—*did-vadcharni*, the great merchants, and *vadcharni*, the merchants. The great merchants participated in the affairs of state; the King not infrequently appointed ambassadors from among them, and they were sometimes accorded civil appointments. Some public prosecutors, for instance, were from the merchant class.

The group of *vadcharni* was of course more numerous, and their position differed greatly from that of the "great merchants". While the latter were free and participated in the political life of the country, the former included many who were not free, being the slaves of others, and they could be bought and sold like the ordinary serfs.[2]

The merchants possessed their own organizations and associations and were under a *Vadchart-Ukhutsesi*[3]—the Chief of the Merchants. Unfortunately, however, no indication has been preserved as to whether he was elected by the merchants themselves or was appointed by the King. *The Man in the Panther's Skin* indicates the fact that the merchants wore a distinctive dress or uniform of their own.[4]

The Georgian literary sources give very little information about the position of the artisans, and it is rather difficult to state whether socially they formed a social group such as the *msakhurni* or the peasant class. From the work of Abuseridze Tbeli we can glean that in the twelfth century—and it may be inferred that even earlier—there existed in Georgia artisans who maintained themselves and their families by their labour and that they were free; for they seem to have been able to move freely about the country and even to go abroad to gain their livelihood.

The word *qma* or *qrma* in the sense of serf or slave is first

[1] See Th. Jordania, *Kronikebi da Sxvena Masalebi Sakartvelos Istoriisa* (*The Chronicles and other Materials of Georgian History*), II, 33.
[2] See Jordania, *Ibid.*, II, 33.
[3] See *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, by Sh. Rusthaveli, English Edition by M. Wardrop.
[4] *Ibid.* See Qustnin 1058.

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any more slaves, and by another, two noble brothers promise the Catholicos Domenti II to repurchase slaves which they had sold at Akhaltzikhé, and also not to divide up families.[1]

Furthermore the practice existed, on the occasion of levies of slaves by Turkish and Persian armies, of buying substitutes from among the mountaineers—Ossetians and Cherkess—in order to avoid surrendering Georgians into slavery. King Wakhtang VI of Kartli is commended for only sending slaves to the Shah when they were actually demanded, and then for buying substitutes instead of sending Georgians.[2] Wakhushti states that, in the reign of King Simon I of Kartli, a special tax of one *marchil* (about two shillings) was levied on each peasant's house in order "to buy Ossetians, Caucasians and Cherkess, which he sent to the Qaen".[3]

Again there was a special obligation laid on the Tatar nomads of Borchalo to provide for the slaves on their way to the Persian border.

Ground down by an inequitable and tyrannous fiscal system, oppressed by onerous feudal obligations, harassed by the perpetual civil warrings of their masters, harried by continual Mussulman incursions, duped and mulcted by an ignorant and unworthy priesthood, and living under the constant threat of deportation and the break-up of their families, the lot of the Georgian peasants was a miserable one. Nature alone was their friend: their physical needs in a mild and equable climate were insignificant; a rich soil, a warm sun and an adequacy of water could rapidly make good to them their losses and their deprivations; a primitive and all-surrounding forest and mountains difficult of access, which they could know better than their masters and their enemies, offered them a near and friendly refuge in their dangers and their troubles. The Georgian peasantry certainly had more to suffer than any other peasantry during the three centuries following the Division of the Kingdom—whatever may have been their relative situation during earlier periods of history. For neither the Armenians nor the peasantry of the Balkan lands nor of Persia and Turkey—great as were their tribulations—had to endure the existence of a perpetual state of war, and the continuous and virulent driving of the slave-traffic. It is the character of the Georgians—the "æsthetic irresponsibility" of them—that has carried them through their miseries; and it is, perhaps, these miseries,

[1] Brosset, *Introduction*, p. lxxiii.
[2] Idem., *Introduction*, p. clxi.
[3] Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 105.

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565 181 endured under a bright sun among the wild and primitive woodlands that has made their character what it is—which has given them their gay and brave fatality.

565 511 "The Poor People", says Chardin, "go almost naked: such is their misery not to be paralell'd; as not having anything to cover their Nakedness but a pitiful sorry Felt like to the Chlamys of the Ancients; into which they thrust their Heads, and turn which way they please as the Wind fits; for it covers but one side of their Bodies, and falls down no lower than their knees. . . .

"He that has a Shirt and a pair of pitiful Drawers thinks himself Rich: for almost all of 'em go Bare-Foot; and such of the Colchians who pretend to Shooes, have nothing but a piece of Buffalo's Hide, and that untann'd too; which piece of raw Hide is lac'd about their Feet with a Thong of the same: so that for all these sort of Sandals, their Feet are as durty, as if they went Bare-foot."

565 847 The respectable jeweller cannot understand the ragged gentlemen at all. He mentions:

"another most inhuman Tenent of theirs, that it is a piece of Charity to Murder Infants newly born, when they have not sufficient wherewith to maintain 'em; or such as are sick and past hopes of recovery. And the reason they give is this, that by so doing, they put those Children out of a great deal of misery, which they would undergo in a languishing Distemper, which in the end must of necessity carry 'em off. Such are the Arguments of these Barbarous People that have neither shame nor Humanity." [1]

[1] *Chardin* (1686 ed.), pp. 85–6.

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lishing a definite Catholic influence in Georgia, although they were not prepared to give the material assistance in money which the Georgian kings were seeking. Finally, during the reign of Giorgi V, a monk named John of Florence was sent to Georgia by Pope John XXII and became first Roman Catholic Bishop of Tiflis.[1]

Such European products as entered Georgia came in through Byzantium and they are referred to as Greek,[2] for it was not until the period of Mongol hegemony and the political decline of Byzantium, that the Genoese obtained the monopoly of the Black Sea traffic. Trade between Georgia and the west through Byzantium during the eleventh and twelfth centuries must have been considerable, and there was always a numerous Georgian element living in Constantinople.

But trade with the south and east was always more important. In this trade, the Armenians, Jews and Arabs were the principal middlemen. Through Lajazzo and the other Cilician ports, Armenian and Latin merchants brought the products of the Mediterranean and of Africa into the Turkish emirates of Anatolia and up to the Black Sea coast, and through Tabriz came the goods from India and the East. Greek and Chinese and Baghdad brocades and woven stuffs,[3] wool from Alexandria,[4] Tibetan musk,[5] Indian steel[6] and diamonds,[7] and Greek locks[8] were all greatly prized. And Sargis Tmogveli, describing a royal letter, says, "instead of paper was used Chinese vellum, for ink T'humbat'hian (Tibetan) musk, an Egyptian reed, rose-water from Nisibrand, ink-horns of Saman aloe".[9]

During the heyday of the Bagratid monarchy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the wealth and luxury of the Court and aristocracy equalled that of the contemporary kingdoms in Spain and Italy. Gorged with the loot of victorious forays,[10] and masters of a fertile land spread with industrious and thriving towns, the Georgian aristocracy spent their leisure from the wars in hunting, feasting and tournaments. And splendid are the accounts which the Annalists give of great celebrations and tourneys at Tiflis in honour of royal marriages or of visits of foreign princes.[11]

[1] For an account of the relations of the Papacy with the Georgian kings see Michel Tamarati, *L'Eglise Géorgienne*, pp. 403 *et seq.*

[2] Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 463. [3] *Vitrauviani*, pp. 194, 285, 249, etc.

[4] Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 449. [5] *Vitrauviani*, p. 223, etc. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

[7] Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 463. [8] *Vitrauviani*, p. 217. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

[10] Cf. Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 366, for a description of loot gained after a victory over the Persians.

[11] See *Ibid.*, pp. 418–19, 422, 438, etc.

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181 had its very individual aspects. The Georgian feudal monarchy through all its vicissitudes retained the tradition of an antique and continuing civility and something of this continuing civility had come down from the period of the Achæmenians and maybe from the centuries before the Swarming Time from Khaldi and the forgotten Caucasian kingdoms of the Bronze Age.

The habit of a settled life, possession of wealth, no little splendour, the mind of kingship, all were old in Georgia. And of all the antique spontaneities, of all the back-dating, free and individual upgrowths of Western Asia, the Georgian nation had alone contrived continuing survival. For the Armenians in the eleventh century were finished as an independent social body.

186 Therefore, the Georgians, in tradition, culture, sense of nationhood, were apart from the moving, scarcely conscious mass of the Muslim peoples around them. And they were by far ahead of, different from, the new raw peoples forming into nations, in Russia, Hungary and the Balkans. The Georgians had an aristocracy of their own blood, and kings the same, a political fact not common over all the variegated mosaic of Europe of the twelfth century. But with all the strong marking of their early come-by individual nationhood, the Georgians were in close and running contact with the two living cultures of the mediæval world, Christendom and Islam, and the mind of their rulers—in constant dangerous intimacy with the great Imperial powers in Byzantium and Persia—could never afford to be parochial.

● 565 644 The Georgian nobles were typical of the feudal classes over all the mediæval world—hard-living, turbulent, superstitious and amoral. To them, life was an affair of forays, huntings, joustings, quick come-and-go of looted wealth, abundant wine and easy women. And they cowered before the Church, as even the best of them trembled and marvelled at the tricks and contortions of astrologers, magicians and dervishes.[1]

Yet these truculent soldiers, princes of the mountains, were at the same time wealthy gentlemen and dilettanti, who followed the fashions of Byzantium, not only in dress and ceremonial like the aristocracies of the Balkan and Danubian lands, but in tastes, in art and books. David Soslani, the swashbuckling husband of Tamara who could give a village

[1] Cf. Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 329 and 460 *et seq.*, for accounts of sorceries in mediæval Georgia. Even by Tamara, Evlogi, "the madman of Christ", was regarded with respect.

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

and a castle for the bay charger of the Prince of Khachen—"a famous animal"[1]—was recognized as the equal of learned men.[2] And in those days it was not unfitting that a man might mingle with his love of dogs and falcons, some familiarity with the Greek philosophers and the Persian poets. To find a parallel to the enlightened catholicity of the mediæval Georgian aristocracy, we have to turn to the petty Christian courts of the Iberian Peninsula and to that fair flower of twelfth-century culture, the court of the Sicilian Angevins at Palermo. In Georgia, Spain and Sicily—on the marches of Christendom and Islam—we find that rich mingling of the two cultures, that coming together of varied types of man and mind along a common borderland. And as in Spain were produced the easy-thinking Mozarabs—men who took a turn of fortune with facility and were not unfavoured by changing masters—so in Georgia we find the same phenomenon. Between the bloody wars of Christian against Muslim were intervals when the master gave easy toleration to vassals of another faith, and even Muslim and Christian could combine against Christian and Muslim. The Georgian kings were frequently in alliance with the Shirvanshah and other Mussulman princes of the Caucasus, and in spite of the savage warfare, the Mussulman population of Tiflis and other Georgian towns, which was always numerous, was generally treated with consideration. The Arab historian al-Aini, in a remarkable passage, recites the benefits which David Aghmashenebeli accorded to the Muslims of Tiflis after his capture of the city in 1121, and he adds that the King showed a greater consideration for the Muslims than had the Mussulman princes themselves.[3] According to al-Aini, David undertook to strike coins bearing the Arabic superscription on one side, and certainly the coins of his successor Dmitri bear Georgian inscriptions with the Arabic on the reverse.[4]

To the wealth of the Georgian Kingdom, the ruins of churches, monasteries and castles and the debris of the movable riches, which has been deposited and remains to this day in the parish churches of Svaneti, all bear witness. The tradition of an antique accumulation, of long familiarity with luxury, runs through the Georgian Annals. The contemporary

[1] Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 441.

[2] Brosset, *Add. et Eclair.*, pp. 240–1, quoting al-Aini. At the same time, according to the Georgian Annals, a Mussulman invasion of the previous year had been occasioned by an appeal of the merchants of Ganja, Tiflis and Dmanisi to the Seljuk Sultan Mahmud-ibn-Muhammad (cf. Brosset, *H. de la G.*, I, 368).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 423.

[4] Pakhomov, I, 83.

l: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 R11 Georgia R11

nesse and as good and thin-shaled as are our filberts. Of these are carried yearly the quantity of 4,000 *camells laden*".[1]

Tolochanov has some interesting details on the habits and ways of life of the Imerians. They dressed generally in the Turkish or Persian fashion, although they wore their own local costumes which consisted of a sort of long *caftans* with short sleeves. The high-heeled shoes noted by the Venetians were still in use, although Turkish slippers were much worn and the poorer classes favoured sandals. They wore blouses and shirts of all colours except white, and made generally of silk. All classes carried swords and sabres mostly of Persian or German make which they wore even in church. They wore leather belts ornamented with gold and silver, and all carried *kinjals* (the long thin straight Caucasian daggers). For fighting the bow was still in use, but muskets and pistols were common. The most prized horses were the Argamak stallions of Kabardán breed.[2]

The Georgian dynasts even in the dog-days of the Mussulman hegemony maintained a degree of wealth and enjoyed a state of luxury which was in strange contrast to the poverty and misery in which their subjects wallowed all around them. This contrast always has been, and still is, characteristic of Eastern cultures, and for that matter the phenomenon is by no means confined either to the east or to the centuries preceding the Industrial Revolution.

It would be interesting to devote a separate work to the consideration of how the failure to use specie for its proper function of facilitating the circulation of the products of the world has—as a result of the interplay of the instincts for accumulation and ostentation—checked the full use of the natural wealth of the earth by the people living on it. Tolochanov, during his audience of King Taymurazi in his manor in Radsha, and of King Alexander in the palace at Kutais, must have seen before his eyes a very large part of the movable and unusable wealth of Georgia of the seventeenth century. King Taymurazi, although his fortunes had sunk considerably lower than they were when Mishetski visited him ten years before, was living in no little luxury, surrounded by a numerous retinue and making a display of wealth which excited the admiration of an ambassador accustomed to the splendours of the Muscovite court. Taymurazi was a vigorous patriot and one of the most enlightened men of his day. His country was in enemy occupation, desolate and despoiled. And we

[1] *Hakluyt's Voyages*, p. 447.

[2] Polleviçov, *Tolochanov*, pp. 110 *et seq.*

[N.B. Kipher Tolochanov - See Vol. I, pp. 344-345 -- Analyst]

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As regards the manners and customs of the Georgians and of those who dwelt in the more level country south of the Caucasus Range we have somewhat contradictory reports. Marco Polo (A.D. 1275) informs us that "Of Georgiana and the kings thereof . . . the people are very handsome, capital archers and most valiant soldiers. They have a fashion of wearing their hair cropped like Churchmen. . . . The country produces the best goshawks in the world"; while Josaphat Barbaro, writing about 1450, tells us frankly that "They are a beastly people. . . . And the Genowaies that practise in those pties use for a proverbe to saie: Thou art a Mongrello,[1] when they are disposed to saie thou art a foole." It seems clear, however, that feudalism under a reigning monarch developed early under Persian influence, and was the normal form of government for many centuries. At the head of the State was a King, whose functions were to command the army in time of war, to maintain internal order and to administer justice. Immediately below the King were three classes of *thavads* or princes, who with the titles of *didebul* (great), *mthvar* (chief) and *eristav* (ἄριστος), held great landed estates, and who were, during the weakness of the monarchy, virtually independent. Their titles were originally administrative, but had soon become hereditary, as the titles duke, marquis, and count in Western Europe. Dependent on the thavads were the *aznaurs* (Armenian, "noble") or gentlemen, who followed them in the field and, in their youth, rendered personal service as esquires. Equal in social status to the second and third classes of aznaur were the *mokalaki* (from kalaka "town") or merchants of Tiflis and Gori, who were organised in guilds. These mokalaki were mainly Armenian immigrants and, in Mingrelia, Jews. The *msakhurs* formed an intermediate class between the gentry and the two grades of serfs. They appear to have been drawn originally from the more intelligent serfs, and were the upper servants in the noble houses. Many of them gained official posts under the Crown and at court, and the chief of the msakhurs was third among the high dignitaries of the State. There were two classes of peasants, the *kmas* and the *monas*. The kma was the prosperous serf, who though attached to the soil and to the estate of his master had acquired property and had the chance to buy his liberty. The kma probably comprised the artisan class, the outdoor servants of an estate, such as falconers, gardeners and gamekeepers, and the non-commissioned officers

[1] I.e., Mingrelian.

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of the army. The monas were the slaves without property who performed unskilled labour, working in the fields, vineyards and forests of their lords, repairing the roads, and constructing buildings. Further, they were under obligation to supply guides and escorts to their lords on a journey and in time of war to follow his banner. In return they occupied a plot of land, proper to themselves—a proportion of the produce of which they were compelled to pay to their masters,—and they could rely on the protection of the seignorial castle in the event of invasion. The lords administered local justice and had power of life and death; further, they were at liberty to sell or exchange their serfs, while the latter, if the land were sold, passed with it.

After the end of the fifteenth century, when intercourse with Persia and Turkey became easy, this seignorial privilege, which had its parallel in every country in Europe, was abased by the wholesale exportation of serfs, male and female, to the slave-markets of Tabriz, Akhaltsikh and Trebizond. This iniquitous commerce was particularly brisk in Mingrelia and Guria, and Chardin, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, estimated that the peasantry were sold into Turkey at the rate of 12,000 a year. "La Mingrélie," he states, "est aujourd'hui fort peu peuplée . . . la cause de cette diminution vient de ses guerres avec ses voisins, et de la quantité de gens de tout sexe que les gentilshommes ont vendue ces dernières années." He goes on to tell of an impecunious but enterprising nobleman who had recently sold twelve priests and his own wife to a Turkish sea-captain at Trebizond.

It must be explained, however, that this sale of Christian souls to the Infidels was strongly condemned by the heads of the Georgian Church, who imposed severe penalties when it was within their power, and remitted the sins of the penitent who should redeem a Christian from slavery in Turkey.

In addition to the feudal dues from the Royal estates, the Kings levied a number of general taxes, and of special dues on certain neighbourhoods, some of which must have seriously interfered with the prosperity of their subjects. Such were taxes on wine, flocks, beasts of burden, ploughs, married men, furnaces and falcons. But in addition to the impositions of their own kings and feudal lords, the long-suffering Georgian peasantry were subject to the indiscriminate levies of invading armies of Mongols, Persians and Turks. In 1724 the Turks imposed a poll-tax on the whole male population and levied on cattle, horses and agricultural products; in 1736 the Per-

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ont naturellement beaucoup d'esprit; l'on en feroit des gens savants et des grands maîtres, si on les élevoit dans les sciences et dans les arts; mais l'éducation qu'on leur donne étant fort méchante, et n'ayant que de mauvais exemples, ils deviennent très ignorans et très vicieux. Ils sont fourbes, fripons, perfides, traîtres, ingrats, superbes. . . . Outre ces vices de l'esprit, ils ont ceux de la sensualité les plus sales, l'ivrognerie et la luxure. Ils se plongent d'autant plus avant dans ces saletés, qu'elles sont communes et nullement déshonnêtes en Géorgie. . . . Pour le reste, les Géorgiens ont de la civilité et de l'humanité, et de plus ils sont graves et modérés."

The life of the Georgian gentleman was passed entirely in hunting, in war and in the satisfaction of personal feuds; from the age of four years he was brought up to horsemanship and the use of arms; every man was a past-master with the bow and lance. They hunted the jackal and the fox with hounds, but their favourite pastime was hawking, their principal game being cranes, herons and pheasants. After the chase the company would give themselves up to feasting and drinking. A main item of diet was *gom*, a kind of porridge made with millet, which formed almost the sole nourishment of the peasants, and was a much-appreciated course at the tables of the gentry. They had little fish except tunny and salt-fish imported from Trebizond and Kaffa, but ate many varieties of meat, the most abundant of which was pork, then venison, beef, mutton and hare.

At any great feast it was a point of honour to become intoxicated, and he who failed in this respect was considered to be a poor fellow. The lower classes, however, were often miserably fed, and the standard of their living was a very low one.

Georgian was a literary language, at least from the time of Pharnavaz, who is said to have introduced the Georgian alphabet, derived, like the Armenian, through the Pahvli and Zend, from the Aramæan. The earliest extant examples of Georgian writing are copies of the Bible, lives of the Saints and other sacred works.

The Mongol and later Mussulman wars effectually checked the natural development of Georgian intellectual life, and to the separation from the philosophical and educational influences of Western Europe must be attributed much of the illiteracy, coarseness and lack of idealism of the Georgian aristocracy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. What little literary culture there was in the country was the preserve of

6: Grigolia E-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RI1 Georgia RI1

guaranty of its propagation. The son is also the caretaker and guardian of the ancestor-worship—the cult of the dead, upon whose good will is believed to depend the well-being and the very existence of the family. Accordingly, the father sees in his son not only the supporter in his lifetime but also the guarantor of the peaceful rest of his soul after death.

Besides the economic causes, Professor M. Kovalevsky[16] sees also the influence of socio-political factors responsible for the custom of infanticide, especially in the Princely Svanetia. The inhabitants of this part of the country convinced the author that the subordinate position of the common people and the power of the ruling princes, *Dadeshkeliani*, to seize and put into service or sell into slavery every girl of common birth, was the main reason for the existence of the custom of infanticide in the Princely Svanetia. On the other hand, the people in Free Svanetia blamed the difficult economic conditions as the sole cause of the custom.

Although the girl was put to death soon after her birth, the birth of a boy, on the contrary, was the occasion of joy and special celebration.

There were different ways of putting the children to death, such as choking them with hot ashes, strangulation, placing a stone on the stomach, starving them to death by leaving them without any food.[17]

The investigators and travelers who visited the country of the Svans report the existence of infanticide among them and discuss it, expressing their opinions concerning the possible causes of this custom.

Thus the Frenchman, Raphael Bernoville, sees the cause of the custom in economic conditions, the absence in the family of the means to feed and raise the girls. As to the manner of putting the babies to death, he mentions the practice of choking them with ashes. He writes concerning the subject:[18] "Les femmes étant considerées par eux comme des bouches inutiles, lorsque les naissances excédaient le nombre utile des membres de la famille

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[16] Kovalevsky: a, II, 41-4.
[17] Stoianov: 435.
[18] Bernoville: 103.

out by pouring hot ashes into their mouths; but I heard from the Svans themselves that this notion is wrong and that the girls were merely starved to death by leaving them without any food. It is generally believed that the motive for this custom lies in the poverty of the people. But this also is incorrect," adds the author, "because this custom was observed not only by poor people but among the nobility as well. The custom of killing the baby girls is explainable far more simply through the inclination, as among all uncivilized people, to give preference to babies of the male sex." We have already expressed our view as to the unacceptability of the author's opinion set forth in the latter part of the above quotation. However, it should be noted that in Free Svanetia no drastic economic distinction existed between the common people and the nobility. The members of the noble class were almost as poor as the common people; their titles did not signify material wealth. Therefore, adverse economic conditions forced them to follow the example of the lower classes in the practice of infanticide.

I. A. Bartolomei confirms the foregoing statement in the following words:[22] "In the whole of Free Svanetia there is not

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN THE COMMUNITIES OF FREE SVANETIA IN 1887*

Communities	*Homes*	*Both Sexes*	*Males*	*Females*
Ushkul	75	526	284	242
Kali	64	425	236	189
Ipari	133	1027	568	459
Etseri	176	1365	750	415
Pari	80	664	350	314
Lendjeri	71	669	351	318
Chubukhevi	116	996	516	480
Becho	89	704	371	333
Latali	122	994	504	490
Mulakhi	153	1303	702	601
Mestia	102	860	467	493
Total	1181	9533	5099	4334

one prince. In this democratic country the nobility retained only the right to dine once a year with the descendants of their former

[22] Bartolomei: 170.

*From V. J. Teptsov: "Svanetia," Table No. 8, P. 45.

[See cat, 116, 14 -- Analyst]

6: Grigolia E-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RI1 Georgia RI1

peasant subjects, and in the case of blood feuds, such as the *wergild*, the amount of two 'bloods' was paid for the murder of one nobleman."

On the other hand, the custom of infanticide is responsible for the smaller number of women than men in Svan communities, as Mr. Bakradze justly remarks. The Russian investigators, N. Dmitriev and V. J. Teptsov, endorse the above statement with statistical data.

In reference to statistical data, it is necessary to note that the peoples of the Caucasus have always shown a mistrust to any kind of census conducted by the Russian government, suspecting only trouble for themselves, such as being drafted into military service, compulsory labor or new taxes. But in spite of this fact, the numbers furnished in the statistical data accumulated by the Russian government, if even approximate and inexact, are helpful in elucidating the matter under discussion.

The statistical tables given by N. Dmitriev and V. J. Teptsov show clearly the differences in the numbers of the sexes composing the population of the country.

The data furnished by Mr. Teptsov[23] were taken from the governmental statistical committee of Kutais, as the author remarks in the introduction of his work.

THE POPULATION IN THE COMMUNITY OF FREE SVANETIA IN 1887*

Communities										
Ushkul	117	28	28	69	101	50	8	16	175	7
Kali	83	14	13	79	96	48	9	9	131	1
Ipari	223	30	44	157	245	83	15	17	308	11
Etseri	269	66	58	222	334	118	22	29	394	17
Pari	113	28	40	133	154	57	5	26	191	6
Lendjeri	151	21	24	122	138	43	17	21	198	4
Chubukhevi	182	38	71	189	294	92	14	18	278	11
Becho	123	29	48	135	163	65	14	20	194	8
Latali	201	35	65	189	220	63	12	20	272	10
Mulakhi	259	60	7	185	307	98	23	38	372	11
Mestia	157	20	55	161	228	61	34	21	205	5
Total	1878	369	546	1641	2208	778	173	235	2718	91
On 1,000 souls of population	197.0	38.7	57.2	172.1	231.6	81.6	18.1	24.6	285.2	9.5

[23] Teptsov: Svanetia.

*From V. J. Teptsov: "Svanetia" (1887), Table No. 10, p. 51.

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if the mediators' votes should be tied, the extra vote will determine the decision of the case.[4] I was present at, and even chosen as a mediator in two cases during my visit to some of the villages of Megrelia." The mediators are called, in Svanetia, *morvar*. Before the beginning of the session the mediators are obliged to take an oath that they will act and make the decision as though the case were their own. One of the near relatives of the plaintiff addresses them, expressing his wish that they will be just and impartial in their decision. After this, the judges promise to conduct the case as though it were their own trial. Following this procedure, the judges invite both the accused and the accuser to take an oath that they will abide by the decision of the court.

It is interesting to note that the higher the social position of the man, in Svanetia, the fewer mediators he appointed for himself. For every two mediators appointed by one peasant, the family of the nobleman opposing him, called *aznauri*, appointed only one mediator.

Manslaughter, abduction of married women, adultery, and theft (cattle stealing, among the Tushes) involved blood-feud as a consequence. Offenses other than these were regarded as minor delicts, for which the penalty was the material restitution and the payment of a certain fixed fine. Besides blood-feud and the payment of the *wergild*, there were other punishments for crime among the Georgian Highlanders, such as exclusion from the social group, stoning, and social boycott. Stoning of a criminal was practiced by the Tushes, but not in a literal form; the persons threw stones when passing a certain place on the cross-roads, where there was a heap of stones, mentioning the name of the criminal. "During my travels not far from the village of Duisi,"[5] writes Professor Khakhanov,[6] "I noticed a large heap of stones carefully placed together. The meaning was explained to me. A Kist had had incestuous relations with his wife's sister; for this crime the village decided to punish him severely. It was decided that the culprit must pay an indemnity of one hundred and sixty rubles

[4] Kovalevsky: a, II, 22. [See cat 116, p 141-142 -- Dwight]
[5] In Tushetia.
[6] Khakhanov: a, 54.

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all kinds of crimes committed. The amount of blood-money required from the offender differed according to sex, age, social status, physical condition, and religion of the slain person. In the payment of the *wergild* the culprit was assisted by his relatives, who were also co-jurors when an oath was taken.

The amount of the *wergild* for the life of a man was higher that that for a woman. Among the Tushes, the murderer of a woman was required to pay an indemnity of thirty cows, which was exactly half the blood-money required for a man's life.[12]

Children and old people were exempt from blood vengeance.

In communities where the social life shows stratification, the *wergild* differed according to the social standing of the offender. In Free Svanetia[13] the *wergild* for the murder of a nobleman was equal to the amount of two bloods.

The same situation prevailed in the whole Georgian Kingdom in times past. "Murder was called blood," Prince Vakhusht writes.[14] "When a man had killed someone equal to himself socially, he was obliged to pay for the blood with silver or cattle, according to the social status of the victim, and the King might arrest, punish, and even kill him. If a man of high social standing killed a man of a lower class, he was obliged to pay for the blood; but if a man of a lower class killed a man of a higher class, he had to pay for the blood and was also deprived of his property for a few years."

The *wergild* for a pregnant woman was higher than that for a woman in normal physical condition.

There was also religious discrimination in the payment of the fine for the blood. The *wergild* for the murder of a Christian was higher than that for a Mohammedan. Among the Tushes, the blood-money for killing a Christian consisted of sixty cows, and for a Mohammedan only half that number.

The payments were made, not with money, but with various goods available in the community: cows, horses, sheep, copper pots, arms, etc. This is not difficult to comprehend if we take into

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[12] Khakhanov: a, 53. [i.e., of wergild; see pp145-146 — Analyst]
[13] Besnoville: 106.
[14] Vakhusht: 6.

C. A. 608 way, though all the members of a clan claim a common descent from the same ancestor, this descent is largely fictitious.

C. G. 565 642 Clans naturally differed in size and wealth, and this led in many parts of the Caucasus to a differentiation of classes and to a feudal structure of the society (Kabarda; lower regions of Dagestan). In Transcaucasia there was a further development into feudal monarchies (Georgia, Armenia). The original tribal structure was best preserved among the Georgian highlanders, the Svan, some of the W. Circassian tribes, the Ossetes, the Chechen and Ingush, and the tribes in the higher parts of Dagestan. For instance, the Pshav tribe (dziri, lit. "root") is divided into eleven clans (temi); the members of each clan bear the same name, but in everyday life are known under a second family name (gvari) derived from the proper name of a grandfather or great-grandfather. If a family expanded, new surnames were adopted. Where a differentiation of classes took place, the general pattern was the following. The upper class consisted of the nobility, in its turn subdivided into various ranks in the regions with more pronounced feudal traits (Georgia, Kabarda). The lower class consisted of the peasants; here too, a further stratification existed, depending on differences in degree of economic and personal freedom. The lowest classes were the slaves; mostly prisoners of war. In

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C. G. 565 Georgia the various grades of the clergy corresponded to the ranks of the nobility, the head of the church (Katholikos) being equal to the king. As to the functions of the different classes, Kabardian society may serve as an example. The function of the highest class, the princes, was to defend their subjects and to provide leadership in wars and predatory incursions into the territory of neighboring tribes (and in the nineteenth century, especially into that of the Russians); such raids were part of the everyday life of most N. Caucasian mountaineers. The representatives of the second class, the nobles, were always at the disposal of their prince, assisted him in his daily activities, accompanied him on his raids, and in general carried out his orders. They could also be called upon to provide the prince with cattle, corn, or other goods, and such a request could not be refused. When a prince died and left several sons, each of the nobles declared himself a subject of the one of his choice. Part of the production of the peasants belonged to the princes and nobles; the latter provided their subjects with draft animals, agricultural implements, and feed-corn. In case of discontentment the nobles and also the free peasants could leave the territory of their C. G. 565 lords and settle elsewhere. The slaves had no 567 rights and owned no property, they were employed in the cultivation of the soil or in the domestic service of the princes and nobles and could be sold at will.

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After the incorporation of the various parts of the Caucasus into the Russian empire, slavery and serfdom were gradually abolished (second half of the nineteenth century). Before the revolution, the Russian hold on the Caucasus depended to a large extent on the nobility (whose ranks, in Georgia as well as in the N. Caucasus, were put on a par with the Russian); after the revolution, of course, an appeal was made to the lower classes.

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EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

C. G. 867 868

As everywhere, education in the Caucasus aimed at developing those traits in the children which were part of the national cultural ideal. In the whole N. Caucasus and in Georgia, great stress was laid on the development of character (courage, stamina, loyalty, modesty, but also self-assertion and vengefullness) and on good manners (especially in the N. W. Caucasus there was a complex and rigid code of behavior). The education consisted further in instruction in the use of arms and in horsemanship. Among the mountaineers it had definite Spartan characteristics, e. g. the Khevsur put burning wicks or glowing coals on the hands of their children to harden them against pain and to test their stamina. Stress was also laid on the ability to express oneself well and to the point, and to make speeches at various occasions. In Georgia, among the higher classes, there was a native tradition of training in the arts and sciences, the centers of which originally were the monasteries. In the N. Caucasus such a tradition did not exist, though there were Moslem schools (medrese) giving instruction in religion and some arithmetic, and also Russian schools, founded after the subjugation. Before the revolution, the higher classes sent their children to Russian cultural centers to complete their education. Many chose a

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military career, as the qualities required there were most in conformity with the ideals handed down by native tradition.

C. G. 565 608

Among the higher classes in the N. W. Caucasus, the usage was to have their children brought up in a family of a lower class; this custom also existed among Western Georgian nobles in imitation of Circassian usage. Even before the birth of the child the aspirants vied with each other for the honor of being its atalyk (foster parent). The atalyk acquired all the rights of blood relationship; the ward upon completion of his education was naturally more attached to his foster parents than to his own, and could be counted on to avenge any harm done to his educators.